

Its complete achievement demands a moral as well as an economic change a state of mind in which men will reject for themselves a standard of luxury purchased at the expense of the destitution of their fellows In the steady development of this conscience, they believe "We are not pessimists, since we hold that reason and good will prevail" At the same time, they hold—and have held, throughout their active career—that the establishment of a National Minimum, below which the standard of life of no citizen should be allowed to fall, could and should be brought about by ordinary constitutional means, and would, if so brought about, hasten the movement towards collective ownership and control, demanded on purely economic grounds

In their Socialism, the characteristic notes are their firm belief in evolution as against revolution—in other words, what was later to be called their "gradualism", their reliance on collective action, and their steady faith in democracy In so far as they are in the line of development suggested by Mr Beer, they stand, of course, with Owen in so far as he, for working purposes, and they, for working purposes, regard men as creatures of their environment, they, on the other hand, have, as they set out plainly in their *History of Trade Unionism*, no use for the Owenite, idyllic view of the State as the enemy to be attacked, captured, overthrown and superseded by the onset of the people, led, for the purpose, by some inspired Redeemer

Owen looked to a Redeemer we call him
a Dictator
They believe no more in the Redeemer-
Dictator than they
do in the Marxian theory of the class struggle,
they believe
in "reason and good will/³ and see some form
or other of
democracy as its most convenient instrument
Starting
from the fact of political democracy, they
realised, at once,
that political freedom must carry with it first,
some degree
of economic freedom if it is not a mere sham,
and second,